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[For a summary of military and diplomatic events in the period of the Georgian Social Democratic Republic (May, 1918 to 1920), see 5: Allen, RHl Caucasia, category 116, pp. 215-222.]

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WEALTH AND STATE

The decline of the Imperial power of the Caliphate at the end of the ninth century marked the beginning of a period of decentric development across the whole stretch of the old world. The revival of Byzantine Imperial power under the Macedonian emperors did not outlast the first quarter of the eleventh century, and so for two full hundred years, until the sudden looming of the First Mongolian Empire, decentric forces were in illimitable play. A time of political inefficiency gave chance to the condottieri of the world. The heirs of the Arab Caliphates—Turks in Iran and Anatolia, Berbers in Africa and Spain—founded their dynasties of embattled parvenus, and over all Roman Europe the pirate Northmen fixed their castles and their kingdoms from Scotland to Tmutarakan. The new political erections were superficial, but the decentric upgrowths all the way from Spain to Georgia were primal. The human spirit sparkled, curious, lively and dynamic; and kingdoms and rich cities, foundings of the new decentric genius, spread themselves and flourished from Granada and Cordoba to Ani, Kiev and Kutais. And they shone in the young centuries before the great empires of iron and stuffing, Hapsburg and Bourbon, Osmanli and Romanov, overlay them.

The Kingdom of the Bagratids took full share in the original and varied splendour of these Middle Ages. The relations of the Georgian kings with the outer world extended from the Mediterranean to Central Asia, and knowledge they had of the lands which lay to the Atlantic on the west and to China on the east.

In the eleventh century, the Georgian St. Ioanné, on a visit to Byzantium, planned to visit Spain in order to study the community of origin of the Iberians of Spain and the Iberians of the Caucasus. Giorgi III according to the Annalists entertained relations with Germany, Byzantium and the Papacy, and with various princes of Russia, India and Arabia.[1] His daughter, Tamara, whose relations with the Russian principalities were close, played an intimate part in Byzantine politics at the time of the Latin Conquest, and she was informed of events at Venice and in Bulgaria.[2] Rusudani and her heirs during the period of the Mongol hegemony had somewhat chequered diplomatic relations with Pope Honorius III and his successors. Tamara, indeed, had been the first to develop these relations, and her endowment of churches in Cyprus and France may have been a diplomatic gesture to the Latin powers.

The Popes pursued with interest the possibility of estab-

[1] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 401. [2] *Ibid.*, I, 465.

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lishing a definite Catholic influence in Georgia, although they were not prepared to give the material assistance in money which the Georgian kings were seeking. Finally, during the reign of Giorgi V, a monk named John of Florence was sent to Georgia by Pope John XXII and became first Roman Catholic Bishop of Tiflis.[1]

Such European products as entered Georgia came in through Byzantium and they are referred to as Greek,[2] for it was not until the period of Mongol hegemony and the political decline of Byzantium, that the Genoese obtained the monopoly of the Black Sea traffic. Trade between Georgia and the west through Byzantium during the eleventh and twelfth centuries must have been considerable, and there was always a numerous Georgian element living in Constantinople.

But trade with the south and east was always more important. In this trade, the Armenians, Jews and Arabs were the principal middlemen. Through Lajazzo and the other Cilician ports, Armenian and Latin merchants brought the products of the Mediterranean and of Africa into the Turkish emirates of Anatolia and up to the Black Sea coast, and through Tabriz came the goods from India and the East. Greek and Chinese and Baghdad brocades and woven stuffs,[3] wool from Alexandria,[4] Tibetan musk,[5] Indian steel [6] and diamonds,[7] and Greek locks [8] were all greatly prized. And Sargis Tmogveli, describing a royal letter, says, "instead of paper was used Chinese vellum, for ink T'humbat'hian (Tibetan) musk, an Egyptian reed, rose-water from Nisibrand, ink-horns of Saman aloe".[9]

During the heyday of the Bagratid monarchy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the wealth and luxury of the Court and aristocracy equalled that of the contemporary kingdoms in Spain and Italy. Gorged with the loot of victorious forays,[10] and masters of a fertile land spread with industrious and thriving towns, the Georgian aristocracy spent their leisure from the wars in hunting, feasting and tournaments. And splendid are the accounts which the Annalists give of great celebrations and tourneys at Tiflis in honour of royal marriages or of visits of foreign princes.[11]

[1] For an account of the relations of the Papacy with the Georgian kings see Michel Tamarati, *L'Eglise Géorgienne*, pp. 403 *et seq.*

[2] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 463. [3] *Vitrauviviani*, pp. 194, 283, 249, etc.

[4] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 449. [5] *Vitrauviviani*, p. 225, etc. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[7] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 463. [8] *Vitrauviviani*, p. 217. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[10] Cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 366, for a description of loot gained after a victory over the Persians.

[11] See *Ibid.*, pp. 418–19, 422, 458, etc.

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Empire at Constantinople, and had begun through the Polos to explore the markets of Further Asia, it was to their rivals that the prizes went, when in 1261 the ships, the money and the diplomacy of Genoa furthered Michael Palaiologos to the restoration of the Greek Empire. The clauses of the Treaty of Nymphæum gave to the Genoese the virtual monopoly of foreign trade with the territories of the attenuated Byzantine Empire, but, more important, it gave them control of the Black Sea trade, and the members of their numerous and powerful colony at Pera entered upon a period of great and profitable activity. At Trebizond and Kerasund, at Caffa and Tana and in the Rumanian principalities, they had their depôts and their consuls, and the *Officium Gazariæ* at Genoa was set up to administer a commercial machine which seemed to have many of the potentialities of a political Empire.[1] Far in the wake of the Genoese followed the Venetians, the Pisans and the Florentines, the Catalans and the Provençals. And for the two hundred and fifty years which elapsed between the passing of Byzantium as an Imperial control over the narrow straits, and the setting of the Osmanli at that old seat of power, the Black Sea became an extension merely of the Mediterranean, where the mercantile city-states contended, as in the Mediterranean, for mastery and profit.

The Latin cities, as the Romans in earlier times, were attracted by the trade of the wide Russian steppes and of the caravan routes which debouched at Caffa, Tana and Trebizond, rather than by the local produce of the Caucasian lands. Nevertheless, that the Latins had an intimate knowledge of all the coast of Georgia and Circassis is clear from the Catalan Map and from the Manual of Pegolotti;[2] they drove a thriving trade in boxwood, wine and nuts and in the wool and silk of the interior and the coloured linens of Riza.[3] At the same time, as in the Kingdom of Little Armenia, the Popes proved as anxious to pursue the political and religious implications of the decline of Byzantine power as their shrewd countrymen were to profit from the commercial situation which had been created. During the whole of the thirteenth century, the Popes solicited the unfortunate Kings of Georgia—harried always by the Mongols—with promises of aid, sympathetic compliments and hints at the desirability of the union

[1] For the history of the Genoese in the Black Sea, see G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le Commerce Génois dans la Mer Noire* (Paris, 1929), and W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant* (2 vols., Réimpression, Leipzig, 1923). Gazaria (Khazaria) was the mediæval Latin name for the Crimea.

[2] Heyd, II, 190; cf. also Marco Polo.

[3] *Idem*, p. 110.

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of the Georgian Church with Rome. By the end of the thirteenth century Latin influence in Georgia was strong, and growing. As early as the time of Marco Polo, Genoese merchants were navigating and trading across the Caspian,[1] and in the first decade of the fourteenth century the Italian monks William of Chiero and Matthew of Chieti were working in Tiflis.

The Bank of St. George and the Vatican, not always in unison, supplemented each the other's efforts in the furtherance of Latin influence. In 1316, the *Officium Gazariæ* was organizing the administration of Caffa; and two years later the city became the See of a Roman Catholic Archbishop, whose diocese comprised the whole area from Varna to Saray on the Volga, and from the Black Sea to the Russian dukedoms.[2] In 1314, the Genoese obtained their first treaty from Alexios II of Trebizond; in 1321, John XXII addressed a letter to King Giorgi Brtsqinwalé urging the union of the Georgian Church with Rome, and seven years later John of Florence arrived in Tiflis as first Roman Catholic Bishop, and busied himself in translating Latin ecclesiastical texts into Georgian.[3]

During the period between the establishment of Mongol power and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the contact between Georgia and the states of Western Christendom must have been continuous. As early as 1330, there was an English Roman Catholic bishop, Peter Gerald, at Sukhum, whom we find lamenting that his flock were being sold as slaves to the Saracens without his being able to check the traffic;[4] and Germans, Italians and Frenchmen succeeded each other in the See of Tiflis. In 1441, a Georgian bishop was in attendance at the Ecumenical Council of Florence; and in 1461, Georgian and Trapezuntine ambassadors, escorted by Ludovico of Bologna, the Papal Legate in the East, were present at the coronation of Louis XI.[5] In 1496, the Borgia Pope Alexander VI was writing to thank Constantine III of Kartli for his congratulations on the capture of Granada from "the Agarians";[6] and there is a letter extant which shows that Constantine sent an ambassador by way of Poland and Lithuania with a gift for Isabella of Castile, of nineteen

[1] Polo, Yule's ed., I, 52.
[2] W. Bartold, Article "*Kafa*" in *Encyclopædia of Islam*.
[3] Tamarati, *Histoire de l'Eglise Géorgienne*, pp. 403 *et seq.*
[4] Heyd, II, 192, quoting Raynaldi, *Ann. eccls. ad. an.* 1330, No. 57.
[5] Tamarati, *ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

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pieces of embroidered brocades of Yezd, fourteen *mithkals*[1] of large pearls and eighteen panthers' skins.[2]

The writings of Latin travellers and diplomatic agents during the two centuries of Latin activity in the Black Sea reflect the rapid decay of social conditions in Georgia. The earlier travellers write in terms of admiration. Marco Polo's information on Georgia refers to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, to the time of King Dmitri Tavdadébuli. The Georgians in those days held a good name. They were "*very handsome, capital archers, and most valiant soldiers*".[3] Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, a little more than a century later, is little less favourable in his brief reference to the Georgians. He regards them as "a fine race of men"; and he speaks with admiration of the King, Giorgi VII, the hero of the Georgian struggle against Timur.

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century the picture is a very different one. Weakened by the ravages of the Black Death and the invasions of Timur, Georgia had, in the middle of the century, been stricken by civil war and by the raids of the Turkoman masters of Iran and Eastern Anatolia. Pontic Christendom was in extremity, and the last ambassadors of Georgia, Trebizond, and Byzantium had made their vain approaches to the courts of Europe. The Turks had Constantinople in 1453, and while Georgian and Trapezuntine ambassadors were attending the levées of the French and the Burgundian monarchs, the Sultan marched to Trebizond. Ludovico of Bologna, that errant, rather sinister Legate in the East, had been entraining many years a plan for uniting the contentious Georgian dynasts with Uzun-Hassan, the Turkoman tyrant in Tabriz, and with the frightened Greeks of Trebizond, against the Ottoman Sultan. Too late, the Venetian Signory made an urgent effort to implement the Legate's plan. Three agents, Josaphat Barbaro, Ambrogio Contarini and Caterino Zeno—the last a relative of Uzun-Hassan's Comnenian wife—were sent to the East, and between the years 1471 and 1474 they were travelling and intriguing in Persia and Georgia. Constantinople and Trebizond were already lost; and while Contarini was waiting in Fasso for a ship to take him to Caffa, he heard that that city had fallen to

[1] The *mithkal*, a Persian weight, was equivalent to 10 ounces.

[2] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 409. The difficulty which Brosset found in the synchronization of the date 1465 is removed, in view of the evidence published by Tamarati in the letter of Alexander VI. The date of Constantine's letter to Isabella would be 1495 and not 1465.

[3] Polo (Yule), I, 50.

[Constitution as of July, 1947]

612 q) Directs the work of legislation concerning labour, marriage and the family;
r) Directs public health;
s) Directs social maintenance;
t) Directs insurance and savings;
u) Directs elementary, secondary and higher education;
v) Directs cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Georgian SSR and administers the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;
w) Directs the work of spreading physical culture and sports widely among the citizens;
x) Organizes judicial organs;
y) Grants the rights of citizenship of the Georgian SSR;
z) Grants amnesty and pardon to citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Georgian SSR;
aa) Establishes the representation of the Georgian SSR in international relations;
bb) Establishes the procedure governing the organization of the military formations of the Georgian SSR.

Art. 15. The Georgian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Georgian SSR may not be altered without its consent.

[648] Art. 16a. The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

[701] Art. 16b. The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Georgian SSR.

[641] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Georgian SSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Georgian SSR equal rights with citizens of the Georgian SSR.

631 Art. 19. The Georgian SSR consists of the Abkhazian Autonomous SSR, the Adjar Autonomous SSR, the South Ossetian Autonomous Region and the districts of: Abasha, Adigeni, Ambrolauri, Aspindza, Akhalkalaki, Akhaltsikhe, Akhmeta, Bogdanovka, Bolnisi, Borshomi, Vani, Gardabani, Gegechkori, Gori, Gurjaani, Dmanisi, Dusheti, Zemo-Svaneti, Zestafoni, Zugdidi, Kazbeg, Kareli, Kaspi, Kachreti, Kvareli, Kvemo-Svaneti, Klukhori, Kutaisi, Lagodekhi, Lanchkhuti, Marneuli, Makharadze, Mayakovski, Mtskhota, Oni, Orjonikidze, Sagarejo, Samtredia, Sachkhere, Signakhi, Tbilisi, Telavi, Tetri-Tskaro, Tianeti, Tkibuli, Khashuri, Khobi, Tsagori, Tsalenjikha, Tsalka, Tsiteli-Tskaro, Tsulukidze, Tskhakaya, Tskhaltubo, Chiatura, Chokhatauri, Chkhari, Chkhorotsku; and the cities of Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Poti and Chiaturi, which do not form part of districts.

signed only after some hesitation. This manifesto marked the actual beginning of a determined Russian Transcaucasian policy.

A large number of Russian revolutionaries came to Georgia immediately after its annexation and spread their influence among the Georgian intelligentsia. Quite a number of these aristocratic Russian revolutionaries, who later participated in the December rising of 1825, served on the staff headquarters of the Caucasian Army Corps under General Yermolov, the uncrowned king of Georgia between 1816 and 1827. Recent Soviet historical writers have emphasized Yermolov's progressive trend of thought and have given him credit for many positive things achieved in Georgia under his proconsulate. Thus the first Georgian newspaper was published in Tiflis under Yermolov in 1819, which was the more remarkable since there existed then but three provincial newspapers in the whole of the Russian Empire, namely in Kharkov, Kazan and Astrakhan.[21]

All these historical facts constitute the basis of that concept of Georgian-Russian brotherhood which contributed to the formation of the political personality of Stalin perhaps as much as Marxist-Leninist theory. The encouragement which Stalin, the Georgian, gave to Russian nationalism, the demonstrative tribute which he paid to the Great Russian nation can only be understood if the Russian-Georgian associations in the past are taken into account. From the point of view of Stalin and of the Soviet régime, the historic Russian-Georgian brotherhood offers an excellent argument for the thesis that the Georgians ought willingly to accept dependence on Moscow.

That, however, is not the conclusion which Georgian nationalists might wish to draw from Georgian history. Without denying that Christian Russia played the role of Georgia's protector against such mighty oriental powers as Persia and the Ottoman Empire, they might consider that this protection has come to an end. Indeed, no powerful Shah or Sultan is likely to threaten the Georgian State in future, or try to Islamize it. Nor can gratitude for the beneficial effects of Russian culture on Georgia during the nineteenth century in any way interfere with Georgia's political orientation in the twentieth century. Georgian nationalists can only too easily make the point that classical Georgian literature borrowed a great deal from Persian literature, without the Georgians having ever felt any debt of gratitude towards Persia for that reason.

For the Georgian nationalists who tried to build up an independent Georgian State after the Russian October Revolution, neither Istanbul nor Teheran was the real danger, but communist Moscow.

[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 223-225, R1 Soviet Union A1: Kolarz --Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Georgia R11

3.V. 563 648 [208] Ge. 186 648 [814]

The Soviet Government remembered very conveniently,[1] that there were old Georgian national claims against Turkey which Bolshevism had persistently ignored during 27 years, but which could easily be revived to embarrass the Turks. Two Georgian professors, S. N. Dzhanashia and N. Berdzenishvili, started the job by publishing a long learned article in the Tiflis newspaper *Kommunisti* on December 14th, 1945. In this article, entitled 'Our Lawful Demands to Turkey', the two Georgian historians claimed for Georgia all territories which Georgia had lost from the Middle Ages onwards. They included, in particular, a coastline 170 miles long on the Turkish shores of the Black Sea.

The Georgian professors said 'We appeal to world public opinion concerning our ancient lands wrested from us by Turkey. This is not a matter of an insignificant territorial infringement, but of the seizure from us of the cradle of our individuality as a nation; of a crime which cut in two the living national body. . . . The Georgian people must get back their lands which they never gave up and cannot give up'.[28]

The world outside Georgia would never have learned of this re-birth of an outspoken Georgian national imperialism, had not the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* reprinted the entire article in Russian translation a few days later.

Ge. [538]

What the historians had started was carried on by poets and playwrights. Thus Grigol Abashidze, co-author of the Georgian national anthem, wrote a collection of poems, *On the Southern Border*, in which he passionately advocated the reunion of the Georgian territories of Turkey with the Georgian motherland. North-Eastern Anatolia appears in Abashidze's poetry as the Georgian Province of 'Tao'. In one of his poems Abashidze promised that 'Tao' including the two ancient cultural centres of the Georgian people, Khandzta and Tbeti, would become Georgian again:

Ge. [539]

Tao, O Tao, our country thou,
Cradle thou of Georgian glory!

Ploughland of my forebears' furrows,
Brooded o'er by ancient towers,
How wast thou beset by sorrows
'Ere decay befell thy flowers!

Tao, O Tao, I hear thee, Tao,
Hear thy weary sighing dying.

Khandzta weeps and Tbeti murmurs;
Brothers' hearts there turn towards us.
One day Tao will join our numbers
'Neath the flag that proudly guards us.

[1] [i.e. in launching a "diplomatic offensive against Turkey after World War II – Analyst]